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1989/06/27

SECRET

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SECRETARY'S MORNING SUMMARY FOR DUNE 27, 1989

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1. CHINA

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MR Cases Only:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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A. TIT FOR TAT ON SANCTIONS

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[SECRET/NOFORN/NOCONTRACT/ORCON]

B. TRADE DEFICIT GROWS

CHINA'S EXPORTS STAGNATED IN THE FIRST FIVE MONTHS OF THE

105

YEAR, WHILE IMPORTS GREW AT AN ANNUALIZED RATE OF 24

PERCENT, ACCORDING TO EMBASSY BEIJING. CHINA'S TRADE

DEFICIT HAD CLIMBED TO US DOLS 4.7 BILLION BY MAY, MORE

THAN FOUR TIMES THE DEFICIT FOR THE COMPARABLE PERIOD LAST

YEAR.

COMMENT: THE RECENT TURMOIL AND THE EFFECTS-OF
RETRENCHMENT POLICIES WILL PROBABLY RESULT IN CONTINUED
STAGNATION IN EXPORTS THIS YEAR, AND TOURISM REVENUES WILL
PROBABLY DROP CONSIDERABLY. BUT IMPORTS ARE SURGING,
MAINLY TO SATISFY DEMAND FOR BASIC INDUSTRIAL MATERIALS.

BIAS

[CONFIDENTIAL]

2. CHINA:

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3. CHINA: POLICY SIGNALS
PEOPLE'S DAILY EDITORIALS AND THE COMMUNIQUE OF THE JUST-

COMPLETED PARTY PIENUM EVINCE CONTINUING DISAGREEMENT

OVER WHETHER TO GIVE PRIORITY TO COMBATING "FOURGEOIS

LIBERALISM" OR ECONOMIC REFORM. BUT STATEMENTS ON FOREIGN

POLICY ARE CONSISTENT, ESCHEWING ANTI-WESTERN INVECTIVE

AND AFFIRMING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE OPEN POLICY.

PURGE

THE PLENUM COMMUNIQUE OF JUNE 24, AND A PARTY-NEWSPAPER EDITORIAL A DAY EARLIER, HIGHLIGHTED THE NEED TO PURGE ZHAO ZIYANG AND HIS SUPPORTERS AND REASSERT PARTY IDEOLOGICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL CONTROLS. THE COMMUNIQUE ALSO ASKED FOR ECONOMIC RETRENCHMENT TO "IMPROVE" ECONOMIC REFORM AND ADDRESSED COMPLAINTS ABOUT CORRUPTION AND ILLEGALITY IN PARTY LEADERSHIP.

BOTH STATEMENTS DENIGRATED THE DEMOCRACY ACTIVISTS AND THEIR ALLEGED POLITICAL BACKERS AND DEFENDED THE CRACKDOWN BY PARTY AND ARMY HARD-LINERS. DENG AND OTHER PARTY ELDERS GOT CREDIT FOR DECISIVE ACTION TO CHECK THE COUNTERREVOLUTION. A MAJOR PURGE OF THE BUREAUCRACY WAS URGED IN THE GUISE OF A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION. CAVEATS ON THE NEED TO FOLLOW LEGAL PROCEDURES AND AVOID REGRESSION IN REFORM WERE WEAK.

REFORM

A PEOPLE'S DAILY EDITORIAL ON JUNE 25 BRIEFLY REITERATED THE NEED FOR IDEOLOGICAL WORK AND PARTY BUILDING, BUT

DEPICTED THE PURGE OF OFFICIALS AND STEPPED-UP ATTENTION TO PARTY DISCIPCINE AS MEANS TO THE MORE IMPORTANT GOAL OF ADVANCING DENG XIAOPING'S REFORM PROGRAM "EVEN MORE COURAGEOUSLY AND FREELY." IT WARNED THAT IMMEDIATE UNDERTAKINGS MUST NOT LEAD TO A SLACKENING OF REFORM EFFORTS, CONFINEMENT OF PEOPLE'S THINKING, SUBJECTING THE ECONOMY TO RIGID CONTROLS, REVIVAL OF OLD IDEOLOGIES AND SYSTEMS, OR THE BLOCKING OF CHANNELS TO OTHER COUNTRIES.

"MISGIVINGS" ABOUT REFORM

THE EDITORIALS JUST BEFORE AND JUST AFTER THE PLENUM MIGHT
BE READ AS TWO HALVES OF AN AGREED POSITION, BUT THE LACK
OF BALANCE IN THE COMMUNIQUE ITSELF IS NOTEWORTHY. DOCUMENTS NOW BEING CIRCULATED FOCUS ALMOST ENTIRELY ON
IDEOLOGICAL THEMES, WITHOUT REFERENCE TO CONTINUING
REFORM. THE MOST RECENT EDITORIAL OPENLY ADMITTED THE
EXISTENCE OF "MISGIVINGS" ABOUT WHETHER THE REFORM
PROGRAM SHOULD CONTINUE IN THE WAKE OF RECENT EVENTS.
DENG XIAOPING'S SPEECH OF JUNE 9, WHICH SET THE THEMES
FOR THE PLENUM AND THE EDITORIALS, SEEMED TO BE TRYING TO
DEFINE A CENTRIST POSITION TO REBUILD LEADERSHIP
CONSENSUS. BUT MEDIA PLAY AND LEADERS' COMMENTS ON HIS
SPEECH BEFORE THE PLENUM VARIED SIGNIFICANTLY, REFLECTING

BIAS

GREATER CONSISTENCY ON FOREIGN POLICY

CONTENDING FACTIONS IN THE DEEATE OVER DOMESTIC POLICIES

SEEM TO AGREE ON THE NEED FOR CONSISTENCY AND CONTINUITY

IN FOREIGN POLICY.

BIAS

THE PLENUM COMMUNIQUE ASSERTED THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S CONVICTION THAT FRIENDLY TIES WITH ALL COUNTRIES WOULD CONTINUE TO DEVELOP AND AVOIDED ANTI-WESTERN INNUENDO AND CRITICISM OF THE UNITED STATES THAT CONTINUES TO APPEAR IN NON-AUTHORITATIVE MEDIA. THE JUNE 25 EDITORIAL WAS EFFUSIVE IN EMPHASIZING THE CENTRALITY TO CHINA'S FUTURE OF OPENING THE COUNTRY AND LEARNING EVERYTHING USEFUL FROM ALL COUNTRIES. [CONFIDENTIAL]